

The Sayings Gospel Q in Marcion's Edition of Luke

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The recent resurgence of interest in Marcion and his gospel (hereafter, MLk) has, among other things, brought into sharper focus the range of problems associated with traditional approaches to the compositional history of the canonical gospels¹. In these discussions, methodologies once artificially separated now converge, appropriately so, but not without difficulty: textual criticism, source-critical analysis, gospel research, reception history, and patristic studies. Furthermore, recent studies have emphasized again that the answer given to one fundamental question about Marcion – namely, whether the gospel associated with him was an abridged form of what we now know as Canonical Luke (hereafter, CLk) – has important implications for the Synoptic Problem. If CLk as reconstructed in the Nestle-Aland critical editions represents the “original text” of Luke, and if the same is also true for Mark and Matthew, the study of the Synoptic Problem, including debates about the hypothetical Sayings Gospel Q and its reconstruction, can continue unaffected². Textual critics nowadays, however, are increasingly reluctant to make such claims about the “original text” of an early Christian writing such as Luke, and prefer instead to speak of an “initial text”, or “the textual forms (archetypes) from which the extant evidence derives”, often emphasizing the “micro-level fluidity” of

1. Important recent literature includes J.D. BEDUHN, *The First New Testament: Marcion's Scriptural Canon*, Salem, OR, Polebridge, 2013; M. VINZENT, *Marcion and the Dating of the Synoptic Gospels* (Studia Patristica Supplements, 2), Leuven, Peeters, 2014; J.M. LIEU, *Marcion and the Making of a Heretic: God and Scripture in the Second Century*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2015; M. KLINGHARDT, *Das älteste Evangelium und die Entstehung der kanonischen Evangelien* (TANZ, 60/1-2), Tübingen, Francke, 2015; D.T. ROTH, *The Text of Marcion's Gospel* (NTTSD, 49), Leiden, Brill, 2015. See also now *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum* 21.1 (2017), a special issue devoted to Marcion in recent scholarship.

Note: The abbreviation “MLk” is meant to indicate the form of Luke known to and associated with Marcion, even though he apparently did not refer to it by its (later?) canonical title.

2. The term “Sayings Gospel Q” is used here and in the title of this article, rather than the more neutral term “Double Tradition material”, because two of the authors discussed (namely, Tyson and BeDuhn) assume the existence of Q in the pre-history of Marcion's Gospel. See below, Sections I and III.

the text of the gospels during the early stages of transmission³. More importantly, as noted above, recent work on Marcion has once again called into question the traditional (patristic) view, which appears first in Irenaeus, that MLk originated as a “mutilation” of CLk (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.27.2; Tertullian, *Marc.* 4.2.4; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 42.9.1-2). The reasons for this vary, but most scholars refer to two related factors. First, when compared with CLk, MLk seems to lack a clear editorial agenda: on the traditional view, Marcion removed material uncongenial to his theological views, but on this view, he appears to have left in material that would be problematic for him, while taking out material that could have supported his views⁴. Secondly, a proportionately higher amount of material unique to Luke (Sondergut) is missing from MLk than other types of material (Markan material, Q material). By my calculations, 44.2% of the Sondergut in CLk is absent from MLk, compared with 9.0% and 12.6% for Markan material and Q material respectively. A related set of statistics is also illuminating: 287 verses found in CLk are attested as absent from MLk, of which 76.7% are Sondergut, compared with 13.2% Markan material and 10.1% Q material⁵. It is curious to say the least that Marcion would have excised so much material found only in Luke, not only in the opening chapters but also in the body of the gospel⁶. It could be that he removed proportionately more Sondergut than Double Tradition or Triple Tradition material because more of it did not suit his theological purposes; but as already noted, theological appropriateness does not seem to have been a consistently applied editorial principle for Marcion (on the traditional view). It seems equally possible that at least some Lukan

3. M.W. HOLMES, *From “Original Text” to “Initial Text”: The Traditional Goal of New Testament Textual Criticism in Contemporary Discussion*, in B.D. EHRLMAN – M.W. HOLMES (eds.), *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis* (NTTSD, 42), Leiden, Brill, 2013, 637-688, pp. 672-674, 680; see also J.W. KNUST, *In Pursuit of a Singular Text: New Testament Textual Criticism and the Desire for the True Original*, in *Religion Compass* 2 (2008) 1-15; M.D.C. LARSEN, *Accidental Publication, Unfinished Texts, and the Traditional Goals of New Testament Textual Criticism*, in *JSNT* 39 (2017) 362-387.

4. See J.D. BEDUHN, *The Myth of Marcion as Redactor: The Evidence of “Marcion’s” Gospel against an Assumed Marcionite Redaction*, in *Annali di Storia dell’Esegesi* 29 (2012) 21-48; LIEU, *Marcion* (n. 1), pp. 200-209.

5. The statistics here and in n. 6 below are based on a count of verses comparing Luke in NA²⁸ with MLk in the reconstruction of ROTH, *Marcion’s Gospel* (n. 1), pp. 410-436. The numbers do not include material unattested for MLk (i.e., the percentages only refer to material attested as absent by the anti-Marcionite authors). For fuller detail, see the appendices in D.A. SMITH, *Marcion’s Gospel and the Synoptics: Proposals and Problems*, in J. SCHRÖTER – T. NICKLAS – J. VERHEYDEN (eds.), *Gospels and Gospel Traditions in the Second Century: Experiments in Reception* (BZNW, 235), Berlin, De Gruyter, 2018, 130-173.

6. The statistics are different, but still significant, if Luke 1,1-4,13 are excluded. First, 18.3% of Sondergut found in CLk 4,14-24,53 is attested as absent from MLk, compared with 7.7% for Markan material and 5.2% for Q material; secondly, 105 verses found in CLk 4,14-24,53 are attested as absent from MLk, of which 59.0% are Sondergut, compared with 30.5% Markan material and 10.5% Q material.

Sondergut is missing from MLk because it was added in a subsequent or independent revision, which resulted in CLk.

If MLk represents a separate or earlier recension of Luke than CLk, as has recently been argued again by Joseph Tyson, Jason BeDuhn, Judith Lieu, Markus Vinzent, and Matthias Klinghardt, students of the Synoptic Problem must take account of Marcion in their analysis of the literary relationships among the Synoptics⁷. I find it highly probable that Luke circulated in significantly different forms in the first one or two centuries of its existence. To someone like Irenaeus or Tertullian, more familiar with longer Luke (CLk), Marcion's Gospel would obviously look like an expurgated version, because it shares with CLk "the same overall distinctive shape and sequence, and a number of key episodes", but is missing "a number of significant passages", as noted above⁸. Apart from the internal considerations that render problematic the view that MLk is an abridged CLk, a passage of uncertain origin, appended to Ephrem's Commentary on the Diatessaron, seems to indicate that Luke was known to exist in a version that lacked the first two chapters (although when and how widely is impossible to tell): this passage states only that "Luke began with the baptism of John"⁹. The precise significance of this, and its relationship to Marcion's Gospel, is difficult to judge.

However, beyond adding a new factor into the web of Synoptic relationships – which in itself demands a close analysis of the textual evidence – MLk as a discrete literary entity could also call into question the view that Mark and Matthew in their Nestle-Aland versions represent the only forms in which these gospels circulated in the second century. If Luke existed in two separate versions whose relationship to one another is open to question, and if something similar could be said about Mark (at least in respect of Mark's endings), could not the same also be true for Matthew, even if concrete textual evidence for this is lacking? This in turn highlights the

7. J.B. TYSON, *Marcion and Luke-Acts: A Defining Struggle*, Columbia, SC, University of South Carolina Press, 2006; BEDUHN, *First New Testament* (n. 1); VINZENT, *Marcion* (n. 1); KLINGHARDT, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 1); LIEU, *Marcion* (n. 1), pp. 196-209. Lieu is very cautious: although she affirms that "there is good reason to question whether the 'Gospel' that Marcion promoted was simply a heavily edited version of the Luke known to Tertullian and Epiphanius" (*ibid.*, p. 203), she is reluctant to integrate MLk into a theory of the interrelationships of the Synoptics, saying that such attempts "have proved unpersuasive" (p. 202).

8. LIEU, *Marcion* (n. 1), p. 200.

9. Translation from C. MCCARTHY, *Saint Ephrem's Commentary on Tatian's Diatessaron: An English Translation of Chester Beatty Syriac MS 709 with Introduction and Notes* (JSSSup, 2), Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1993, p. 344, n. 1. See also F.C. CONYBEARE, *Ein Zeugnis Ephräms über das Fehlen von c.1 und 2 im Texte des Lucas*, in ZNW 3 (1902) 192-197; L. LELOIR, *Éphrem de Nisibe: Commentaire de l'évangile concordant ou Diatessaron* (SC, 121), Paris, Cerf, 1966, p. 409, n. 1. For a modern view that Luke originally began at 3,1, see B.H. STREETER, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins*, London, Macmillan, 1924, pp. 208-209.

genuinely hypothetical nature of any Synoptic “solution”, particularly when discussions about the Synoptic Problem are based on hypothetical reconstructions of the “original texts” of the gospels. As Judith Lieu has remarked, “Marcion’s Gospel should continue to contribute to debates about the Synoptic Problem, just as those debates should contribute to the attempt to understand his own procedures and their place in the growth of authoritative texts”¹⁰. The purpose of this essay is to analyze how the Sayings Gospel Q fares in these recent discussions of Marcion and the Synoptic Problem, and to offer a closer focus on the literary data. After (1) brief surveys of the place of Q in the work of Tyson, BeDuhn, and Klinghardt, the discussion will focus on (2) MLk and the Minor Agreements, and (3) the problematic attestation of Double Tradition material in MLk. Finally, (4) a moderate and tentative proposal concerning the place of MLk in the web of Synoptic relationships will emerge.

1. *Q in Recent Discussions of Marcion and the Synoptic Problem*

As suggested above, a central question revived in recent debate has been the relative priority of MLk and CLk. Dieter Roth rightly notes that the discussion of issues such as this requires “a new and more critically established reconstruction of Marcion’s text”¹¹. Two of the most detailed assessments of the Double Tradition material in MLk, by Jason BeDuhn (2013) and Matthias Klinghardt (2015) respectively, have been argued in the context of new reconstructions of MLk. Joseph Tyson’s earlier work (2006) was not: he relied, as did John Knox before him, mainly on Harnack’s reconstruction, although he did note the uncertainty often involved in determining the precise wording of Marcion’s Gospel¹². A third new reconstruction has recently appeared, by Dieter Roth (2015), but Roth thinks that MLk is an edited form of CLk¹³. The various problems and questions involved in reconstructing MLk from the highly rhetorical and often paraphrastic references to it in the writings of the heresiologists

10. J. LIEU, *Marcion and the Synoptic Problem*, in P. FOSTER – A. GREGORY – J.S. KLOPPENBORG – J. VERHEYDEN (eds.), *New Studies in the Synoptic Problem, Oxford Conference April 2008: Essays in Honour of Christopher M. Tuckett* (BETL, 239), Leuven, Peeters, 2011, 731-751, p. 751; see also her overview of the major issues that in her opinion “mark the new map” of the discussion (*ibid.*, pp. 746-751).

11. D.T. ROTH, *The Link between Luke and Marcion’s Gospel: Prolegomena and Initial Considerations*, in J. VERHEYDEN – J. KLOPPENBORG (eds.), *Luke on Jesus, Paul, and Christianity: What Did He Really Know?* (BiTS, 29), Leuven, Peeters, 2017, 59-80, p. 80.

12. TYSON, *Marcion and Luke-Acts* (n. 7), pp. 40-42, citing with approval the methodological concerns raised by D.S. WILLIAMS, *Reconsidering Marcion’s Gospel*, in *JBL* 108 (1989) 477-496.

13. ROTH, *Marcion’s Gospel* (n. 1), pp. 437-438, indicating that instances in MLk of Lukan style or redactional phrasing could be evidence for the priority of CLk over MLk.

(especially Tertullian and Epiphanius) are well documented and need no further discussion here¹⁴.

Tyson's view was that CLk represents the culmination of a three-stage process of composition¹⁵. The first stage was "the composition of a pre-Marcionite gospel" (hereafter, PLk) that had Mark and Q as its sources¹⁶. Tyson saw MLk and CLk as independent revisions of this pre-Marcionite gospel, with MLk being the earlier and more primitive of the two, primarily because so much distinctively Lukan (Sondergut) material is missing from MLk as it has been reconstructed from later sources (see Fig. 1).

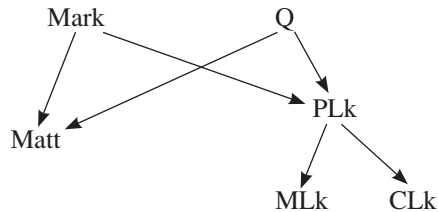


Fig. 1: *Tyson's View of Synoptic Relationships*

This indicates for Tyson that while some Sondergut could have been deleted from PLk by Marcion when he used the text, some (the majority by verse count) was added as part of the anti-Marcionite revision of PLk that resulted in CLk. Likely candidates include the Prologue (Luke 1,1-4), the Infancy Narratives (1,5-2,52), and certain aspects of the Resurrection Narratives (ch. 24)¹⁷. Because Tyson allows for the likelihood that Marcion edited the gospel text he used (MLk being an abridged form of PLk), on his theory Q is not substantially different from its typical reconstruction according to the Two Document Hypothesis (hereafter, 2DH). For example: the Baptist material (Luke 3,2-22, comprising Q, Markan, and Sondergut material), the genealogy (3,23-38, Sondergut), and the Temptation (Luke = Q 4,1-13) in his view were all originally in PLk but were deleted by Marcion¹⁸.

14. See LIEU, *Marcion* (n. 1), pp. 187-209; ROTH, *Marcion's Gospel* (n. 1), pp. 46-82; D.T. ROTH, *Marcion's Gospel and the History of Early Christianity: The Devil Is in the (Reconstructed) Details*, in ZAC 21 (2017) 25-40.

15. TYSON, *Marcion and Luke-Acts* (n. 7), pp. 119-120. Tyson takes up the views of J. KNOX, *Marcion and the New Testament: An Essay in the Early History of the Canon*, Chicago, IL, University of Chicago Press, 1942.

16. The abbreviation "PLk" (for Proto-Luke) is meant to denote an early pre-Marcionite edition of Luke which combined Mark and Q, and not a Streeterian Proto-Luke which (on the view of B.H. Streeter) resulted from the combination of Q and L. For the latter, see STREETER, *The Four Gospels* (n. 9), pp. 208-222; J. VERHEYDEN, *Proto-Luke, and What Can Possibly Be Made of It*, in FOSTER et al. (eds.), *New Studies* (n. 10), 617-654. It should be noted that Tyson does not use the term Proto-Luke for this pre-Marcionite edition of Luke.

17. TYSON, *Marcion and Luke-Acts* (n. 7), pp. 90-116.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 117-119.

BeDuhn takes a slightly different approach, yet like Tyson remains an advocate of the 2DH. While he would agree that MLk and CLk represent separate versions of a composition that had combined Mark and Q, BeDuhn does not think that Marcion edited the gospel he received.

The thesis that Marcion created the Evangelion [MLk] by removing passages contrary to his ideology from Luke runs up against a seemingly unsurmountable problem: the Evangelion contains dozens of passages contrary to the very Marcionite ideological positions cited as explanations for the differences between the Evangelion and Luke. [...] Marcion did not, in fact, do any substantial editing, but ... sanctioned the use of a gospel text already in existence in the form it was incorporated into the Marcionite canon¹⁹.

Or, as he has more recently put it, “Marcion neither authored nor redacted it, but received it as a legacy, and adopted it relatively untouched”²⁰. Canonical Luke represents a subsequent edition of the gospel Marcion received and adopted (as shown in Fig. 2), but BeDuhn disagrees with

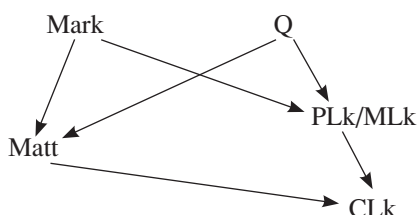


Fig. 2: *BeDuhn's View of Synoptic Relationships*

the view that CLk was anti-Marcionite. Instead, he proposes that “the two gospels could be alternative versions adapted for primarily Jewish [CLk] and primarily Gentile [MLk] readers”²¹. More to the point, because BeDuhn believes that Marcion did not edit the gospel he received and used (thus: MLk = PLk), he also thinks that the Double Tradition material present in CLk but absent from MLk – there are several instances of this – cannot have been originally part of Q. He writes: “‘Q’ would look different if the Evangelion [MLk] is taken as the closer witness than [Canonical] Luke”²². In his opinion, the Double Tradition material absent from MLk is present in CLk because of “secondary dependence of Luke

19. BEDUHN, *First New Testament* (n. 1), pp. 83, 87; see also BEDUHN, *Myth of Marcion as Redactor* (n. 4), pp. 34-36.

20. J.D. BEDUHN, *New Studies of Marcion's Evangelion*, in ZAC 21 (2017) 8-24, p. 20, describing his agreement with Klinghardt.

21. BEDUHN, *First New Testament* (n. 1), p. 91, referencing J.S. SEMLER, *Vorrede*, in *Thomas Townsons Abhandlungen über die vier Evangelien*, Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1783, n.p.

22. BEDUHN, *First New Testament* (n. 1), p. 94, referring also to Streeter's Proto-Luke, a hypothesis that he thinks deserves further study (*ibid.*, p. 93). BeDuhn does not consider the possibility that the redactor of Canonical Luke had access to Q as a possible alternative explanation.

on Matthew”²³. We will return to these matters below. On the other hand, BeDuhn also sees support for the Q Hypothesis in the fact that, by his estimations, MLk contains only about one third of the “Minor Agreements” of Matthew and Luke against Mark in Triple Tradition material. As is well known, the so-called Minor Agreements (hereafter, MAs) represent a troubling set of data for the Two Document Hypothesis²⁴. BeDuhn thinks that because fewer MAs are found in MLk than in CLk, the phenomenon is generally better explained as not originating from Luke adopting Matthean redactional changes to Mark, as the Farrer Hypothesis proposes, but as secondary scribal harmonizations of Luke to Matthew²⁵. He sees these data therefore as supporting the Q Hypothesis.

Klinghardt’s latest work positions MLk as “das älteste Evangelium”, as Markus Vinzent has also recently proposed²⁶. In Klinghardt’s view, MLk (or actually, a precursor text to the versions used by the heresiologists) was a primary source of all four canonical gospels, with various other lines of both primary and secondary influence. This represents a considerable change from his 2008 position, according to which Mark was a source for MLk, and not vice versa²⁷. The newer theory suffers from the difficulty of proposing the literary dependence of Mark on MLk, which is highly dubious²⁸. In any case, Klinghardt does not need a hypothetical Q: the Double Tradition material originated either as part of MLk (material taken over in Matthew but not in Mark) or as additional Matthean material taken up by CLk (see Fig. 3). Klinghardt thinks the MAs pose an intractable

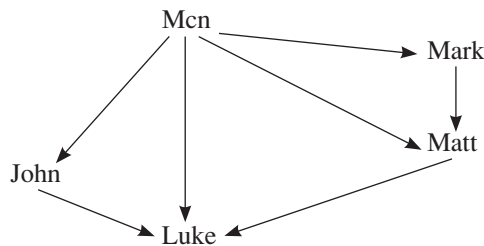


Fig. 3: Klinghardt’s View of Synoptic Relationships²⁹

23. *Ibid.*, p. 95, discussing mainly the Baptist material and the Temptation narrative in Luke 3,1-22; 4,1-13, parts of which are normally assigned to Q.

24. For a useful overview, see M.E. BORING, *The “Minor Agreements” and Their Bearing on the Synoptic Problem*, in FOSTER *et al.* (eds.), *New Studies* (n. 10), 227-251.

25. BEDUHN, *First New Testament* (n. 1), 93, referencing S. McLOUGHLIN, *Les accords mineurs Mt-Lc contre Mc et le problème synoptique: Vers la théorie des deux sources*, in *ETL* 43 (1967) 17-40, who lists 52 “significant minor agreements”.

26. VINZENT, *Marcion* (n. 1), pp. 97-100. Vinzent believes Marcion wrote his gospel, but does not discuss the Synoptic literary data in any great detail.

27. M. KLINGHARDT, *The Marcionite Gospel and the Synoptic Problem: A New Suggestion*, in *NT* 50 (2008) 1-27, p. 22 (diagram).

28. For discussion, see SMITH, *Marcion’s Gospel and the Synoptics* (n. 5).

29. Diagram after KLINGHARDT, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 1), p. 311. For his view that all four underwent a final “canonical redaction”, see *ibid.*, p. 313.

difficulty for the traditional 2DH, but disappear as a problem on his own model, according to which the MAs result from two different editorial processes³⁰. In some cases, (1) Mark altered the MLk source and Matthew and CLk followed MLk, while in other cases, (2) Matthew altered Mark and CLk followed Matthew but not Mark and MLk³¹. Unlike BeDuhn, who finds support for the 2DH and Q in the comparatively lower frequency of MAs in MLk than CLk, Klinghardt is interested in the MAs as explicable on his own “working hypothesis”. Finally, Klinghardt also seeks to explain what on the 2DH are “Mark–Q overlaps”, that is, places where Matthew and Luke have similar non-Markan material (normally sayings material, and sometimes extensive) in a Triple Tradition pericope: the longer passages in Matthew and CLk derive from MLk, but the shorter Markan versions show “die ordnende und planvoll gestaltende Hand von Mk”³². Overall, Klinghardt’s views concerning the Double Tradition material ultimately depend on his assertions about the literary dependence of CLk on MLk, of Mark on MLk, and of CLk on Matthew.

2. Marcion’s Gospel and the Minor Agreements

BeDuhn bases his claim about the significantly lower incidence of MAs in MLk on S. McLoughlin’s compilation of fifty-two “accords significatifs”, that is, “significant” Minor Agreements³³. What actually qualifies as a MA, and what would make one “significant”, have long been topics of debate. While many scholars would tend to disregard Matthew–Luke agreements in aorist verbs versus the historical present or in *δέ* versus *καί* as insignificant, others would say that the sheer number of MAs – both significant and insignificant – must have some evidentiary force³⁴. Regardless of such concerns, McLoughlin’s list is useful enough for a test of the incidence of MAs in MLk versus CLk. BeDuhn states: “Of the fifty-two ‘significant’ minor agreements listed by McLoughlin, ... thirty-one can be checked against the Evangelion’s [MLk’s] text in some way. Of these thirty-one, twenty do not occur, while eleven do”³⁵. Aside from a few notes about the Greek witnesses to MLk, BeDuhn unfortunately does not

30. KLINGHARDT, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 1), p. 8; see also BEDUHN, *New Studies* (n. 20), p. 16.

31. KLINGHARDT, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 1), pp. 234–245.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 223.

33. MCGLOUGHLIN, *Les accords mineurs* (n. 25), pp. 26–27. McLoughlin lists “46 cas”, but really there are 52 instances in 46 verses (following Matthew’s versification). See also his more recent treatment of the problem: M. MCGLOUGHLIN, *Listing the Minor Agreements*, in *ETL* 87 (2011) 201–228.

34. BORING, *Minor Agreements* (n. 24), pp. 234–237.

35. BEDUHN, *First New Testament* (n. 1), p. 354 n. 88.

provide a detailed account. Of course, any claim such as this depends entirely on how MLk is, or is able to be, reconstructed: while generally one can tell from the later authors whether or not a verse or part of a verse was in MLk, quite often detailed and certain conclusions about wording are not possible. In a recent issue of the *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum*, Roth suggests that BeDuhn's claims about the MAs in MLk are certainly worth pursuing, but require the close analysis of a Greek reconstruction (BeDuhn's is English)³⁶. Meanwhile, BeDuhn challenges Roth's reconstruction, which is based on detailed study of the citation styles of the later heresiologists, in order to determine the origin of harmonizations to Matthew in their references to MLk (i.e., are they original to MLk, or did those referring to MLk introduce them?). BeDuhn writes: "Harmonizations to Matthew found in that testimony [of the sources] represent for [Roth] a defect in a source's quotation of Evangelion, rather than a possible characteristic of the particular text of Evangelion at the source's disposal"³⁷. This debate, which obviously cannot be resolved here, nonetheless illustrates the uncertainty involved in studying the MAs in Marcion's Gospel, particularly where harmonization to Matthew is suspected either in the text itself, or in its citation by later Christian authors.

In my own check of BeDuhn's reconstructed MLk against McLoughlin's list, I found that twenty of fifty-two instances occur in verses (or partial verses) that are either unattested or attested as absent in the writings of the heresiologists, and so cannot be checked for the MA; eleven of McLoughlin's fifty-two are positively attested as present in MLk; in five instances, the MA is almost certainly missing from MLk, where the verse is attested and surrounding wording is relatively secure; and in fifteen cases, the verse is attested for MLk, but its precise wording where the MA is concerned is uncertain³⁸. In one final instance, BeDuhn's reconstruction is unclear as to whether he thinks MLk attests the MA or not. At Luke 9,7,

36. ROTH, *Marcion's Gospel and the History of Early Christianity* (n. 14), p. 30.

37. BEDUHN, *New Studies* (n. 20), p. 11.

38. The details are as follows (according to BeDuhn's reconstruction). The twenty MAs that cannot be checked, because they occur in material unattested or attested as absent from MLk, are: Luke 3,3; 3,16; 5,25; 5,26; 6,18; 8,9; 8,10; 8,41; 9,11 (two); 9,34 (clause unattested); 9,41; 18,30; 19,39; 21,23; 22,42; 22,62; 23,35; 23,47; 23,54. The eleven MAs attested as present in MLk are: Luke 4,43, εὐαγγελίσασθαι ... τὴν βασιλείαν; 5,36, ἐπιβάλλει; 5,37, ἐκχυθήσεται; 8,25, ἐθαύμασαν λέγοντες; 9,1, νόσους θεραπεύειν; 9,2, κηρύσσειν τὴν βασιλείαν; 22,64, τίς ἐστιν ὁ παῖσας σε; 22,69, ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν; 22,70, ὑμεῖς λέγετε; 23,53, ἐνετύλιξεν; 24,9, ἀπήγγειλαν ... τοῖς. The five MAs absent from MLk, where the wording of the surrounding context can be reconstructed securely, are: Luke 6,1, καὶ ἦσθιον; 8,44, τοῦ κρασπέδου; 9,20, τοῦ θεοῦ; 9,41, καὶ διεστραμμένη; 24,4, ἀστραπτουσί. The following fifteen MAs are in verses attested as present in MLk, but the precise wording cannot be securely reconstructed: Luke 5,12, ἰδοῦ; κύριε; 5,18, ἰδοῦ; ἐπὶ κλίνης; 6,4, μονούς; 6,6, τὴν; 6,14, τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ; 6,17, ὄχλος; 9,3, μήτε; 9,29, τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ; 9,34, αὐτοῦ λέγοντος; 20,1, διδάσκοντος; 21,37, ἠὺλίζετο; 22,48, Ἰησοῦς δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ; 22,67, εἰπὸν ἡμῖν. To this I would also add a sixteenth, Luke 9,7, τετραάρχης (see below).

CLk gives τετραάρχης as the title of Herod, in agreement with Matt 14,1 (cf. Mark 6,1, βασιλεύς). BeDuhn reconstructs MLk 9,7 as follows: “Now Herod [the quadrant ruler] heard ...”, leaving the reader uncertain whether he thinks τετραάρχης was in MLk³⁹. From Tertullian’s cursory discussion of this section (*Marc.* 4.21.2), a reference to Herod is clear, but his political title is not given⁴⁰. This makes sixteen instances where the wording of MLk is not clear enough to determine if the MA were present or absent. Adding to the confusion is the fact that in five of these cases – where Roth’s reconstruction shows that certain parts of the verse are unattested as to their wording – BeDuhn nonetheless includes the MA in his English reconstruction, without any discussion in his notes⁴¹.

This illustrates that BeDuhn’s claim that “twenty [MAs] do not occur” in MLk includes fifteen (or sixteen) instances where the reconstruction is not certain enough to decide whether MLk included the MA or not. This means that BeDuhn views a lack of positive attestation for the MA as evidence that it “does not occur” in MLk. It would be more secure to say only that we do not have enough information to make a clear determination. Nonetheless, even if five of McLoughlin’s “significant” MAs were missing in Marcion’s edition of Luke, more could likewise have originated as harmonizations to Matthew, as various copies and versions of Luke were circulating, but without necessarily leaving evidence of their early absence in the manuscript tradition of Luke. These five are worth a closer look.

(1) Luke 6,1, καὶ ἥσθιον. In the controversy story about plucking grain on the Sabbath, Matthew (καὶ ἐσθίειν) and Luke (καὶ ἥσθιον) agree against Mark in the additional detail that the disciples were eating the grain (Matt 12,1 par. Luke 6,1; cf. Mark 2,23). Tertullian’s exposition of this passage (*Marc.* 4.12.5) is quite paraphrastic, so it is not clear how closely he was following his text of MLk. His discussion includes the Matthean idea that the disciples were hungry (Matt 12,1 diff. Luke 6,1) and passes over the MA in silence. BeDuhn states that Tertullian “does not expressly refer” to the disciples eating, and wonders if the reference to their hunger is Tertullian working from memory or a stray harmonization in his text of MLk⁴². Roth seems to credit “the simple omission of καὶ ἥσθιον” to Tertullian, but his reconstruction does not show any

39. BEDUHN, *First New Testament* (n. 1), p. 106. Normally in BeDuhn’s reconstruction, square brackets enclose “connective content necessary for the directly attested material to have coherent meaning” (*ibid.*, p. xiv), but this cannot be the case here.

40. See ROTH, *Marcion’s Gospel* (n. 1), p. 211, who does not discuss whether Herod’s title was in MLk 9,7.

41. The five instances are Luke 9,34, αὐτοῦ λέγοντος; 20,1, διδάσκοντος; 21,37, ἠϋλίζετο; 22,48, Ἰησοῦς δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ; 22,67, εἰπὼν ἡμῖν. My count includes these five as uncertain (see above, n. 38).

42. BEDUHN, *First New Testament* (n. 1), p. 135.

ellipsis to indicate that he considers these words unattested⁴³. Klinghardt prints ἡσθιον as “unbezeugt aber vermutlich vorhanden” in his reconstruction, disregarding Tertullian and following instead the Western witnesses to CLk (which he generally takes to reflect the original wording of MLk, even when contradicting the testimony of the heresiologists)⁴⁴. There is considerable disagreement among the manuscripts and other witnesses regarding the order of the words καὶ ἡσθιον τοὺς στάχυνας ψάλλοντες ταῖς χερσίν, but no witness seems to omit the reference to eating. Judgment: it is *possible but not certain* that καὶ ἡσθιον was not in MLk.

(2) Luke 8,44, τοῦ κρασπέδου. Here, Matthew and Luke agree against Mark that the woman with the flow of blood touched the hem or fringe (τοῦ κρασπέδου) of Jesus' garment (Matt 9,20 par. Luke 8,44; cf. Mark 5,27). Tertullian mentions the garment but not the hem (*Marc.* 4.20.13), and Epiphanius says only that a woman touched Jesus (*Pan.* 42.11.6.14; 42.11.17 σχ. 14)⁴⁵. Roth reconstructs this part of the verse with an ellipsis, indicating that he judges τοῦ κρασπέδου to be unattested, which seems appropriate given the summary nature of the discussions in the heresiologists⁴⁶. BeDuhn notes, however, that the words are also missing from several Western witnesses (D and Old Latin a d ff² l r¹), and concludes that “it is significant that [this MA] was not present in the Evangelion”⁴⁷. Judgment: τοῦ κρασπέδου *probably* was not in MLk.

(3) Luke 9,20, τοῦ θεοῦ. In Peter's confession of Jesus as the *christos*, Matthew and Luke agree against Mark in the additional genitive phrase τοῦ θεοῦ (Matt 16,16 par. Luke 9,20; cf. Mark 8,29). Tertullian gives Peter's reply to Jesus in the wording of Mark: *Tu es Christus* (*Marc.* 4.21.6; also 4.22.6; 4.34.15). The *Adamantius Dialogue* reads the same⁴⁸. BeDuhn and Klinghardt are quite certain this MA was not in MLk⁴⁹. Roth is reluctant to draw a firm conclusion because influence “from Synoptic parallels” cannot be excluded, but in the end says that “it is possible that the response followed the wording of Mark 8,29”⁵⁰. It seems unlikely, however, that Tertullian would be influenced in his citation of MLk by his

43. ROTH, *Marcion's Gospel* (n. 1), p. 195 n. 48 (comment); p. 414 (reconstruction).

44. KLINGHARDT, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 1), pp. 511-512, but without discussion; for his view that the Western witnesses normally reflect the wording of Marcion's Gospel, see *ibid.*, pp. 73-78.

45. ROTH, *Marcion's Gospel* (n. 1), p. 299.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 418.

47. BEDUHN, *First New Testament* (n. 1), p. 147; so also KLINGHARDT, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 1), p. 624, however without discussion of the MA.

48. ROTH, *Marcion's Gospel* (n. 1), pp. 212, 369.

49. BEDUHN, *First New Testament* (n. 1), p. 149; KLINGHARDT, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 1), pp. 645, 648, uncertain whether υἱός can also be excluded as part the wording of MLk, because of the reading of Codex Bezae (though ὁ Χριστὸς υἱός seems to make little sense).

50. ROTH, *Marcion's Gospel* (n. 1), p. 370.

memory of Mark (Matthew would be much more likely). BeDuhn notes that a few ancient witnesses to Luke also support the shorter reading (Old Latin a; sy^c sy^s). Judgement: τοῦ θεοῦ *almost certainly* was not in MLk.

(4) Luke 9,41, καὶ διεστραμμένη. Here, Matthew and Luke share the adjective “perverted” in Jesus’ lament against this “faithless generation” (Matt 17,17 par. Luke 9,41; cf. Mark 9,19). It should be noted that other MAs (particularly negative agreements in the omission of Markan material) are to be found in this pericope⁵¹. Tertullian refers to this line twice and does not mention the additional adjective (*Marc.* 4.23.1-2). While Roth suggests that this could be “a simple omission” on Tertullian’s part, “Epiphanius confirms its absence” from MLk⁵². Klinghardt agrees, but explains the origin of the MA as a Matthean alteration of MLk taken over by CLk⁵³. Some manuscripts add καὶ διεστραμμένη to Mark 9,19 (P^{45vid} W f¹³ 2542), which might suggest that this MA originated as a textual corruption of Mark; but καὶ διεστραμμένη is also missing from Luke in two Old Latin manuscripts (a e). More probably, therefore, early editions of both Mark and Luke were subject to the same harmonization to Matt 17,17, because the phrase is also absent from MLk. Judgement: καὶ διεστραμμένη *quite certainly* was not in MLk.

(5) Luke 24,4, ἀστραπτύση. In the description of the figures at the tomb of Jesus, Matthew and Luke share in common the descriptor “flashing” or “gleaming” (Matt 28,3 ἡ εἰδέα αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀστραπή par. Luke 24,4 ἐν ἐσθῇτι ἀστραπτύση; cf. Mark 16,5). Both the witnesses and the current reconstructions disagree on the wording of MLk. BeDuhn states, following Epiphanius (*Pan.* 41.11.6.76; 42.11.17 σχ. 76), that the MA “in the characterization of [the] shining cloaks (*astrapē/astrapouseē*) was not present in the Evangelion (*lampra* is used instead)”⁵⁴. Roth is not so certain, saying that “the summary and imprecise nature of Epiphanius’ introduction to Scholion 76 makes any reconstruction of precise wording tenuous and speculative”⁵⁵. In his reconstruction, he gives ἐν ἐσθῇτι ἀστραπτύση italicized and parentheses, indicating that a decision was not possible, opting for the wording of CLk 24,4 despite its lack of support in the sources for MLk⁵⁶. Tertullian does not refer to the attire of the men at the tomb, but (probably under the influence of Matthew) does call them angels. The manuscript tradition does not show any disagreement on the terminology, although a secondary correction to the plural is evident in

51. For details, see F. NEIRYNCK – T. HANSEN – F. VAN SEGBROECK (eds.), *The Minor Agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark, with a Cumulative List* (BETL, 37), Leuven, Leuven University Press, 1974, pp. 126-130.

52. ROTH, *Marcion’s Gospel* (n. 1), pp. 214, 304. See also BEDUHN, *First New Testament* (n. 1), p. 151: “our sources seem unanimous”.

53. KLINGHARDT, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 1), pp. 241, 668-669.

54. BEDUHN, *First New Testament* (n. 1), p. 194.

55. ROTH, *Marcion’s Gospel* (n. 1), p. 342.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 435.

numerous witnesses (A C K L W *f*^{1.13} *et al.*). As mentioned above with ἡσθιον (Luke 6,1), here Klinghardt reconstructs ἐν ἐσθῆτι ἀστραπτουση as unattested but probably present, disregarding Epiphanius and following the Western witnesses⁵⁷. Judgment: ἀστραπτουση *quite certainly* was not in MLk⁵⁸.

A fuller study of the MAs in relation to Marcion's Gospel is not possible here, and although the results are significant, they are not as significant as BeDuhn claims them to be. Differences of opinion about reconstruction notwithstanding, in four of the five cases just discussed, the evidence seems fairly compelling that the MA was not in MLk. In one case (Luke 24,4), the absent MA is not attested in any manuscript of Luke or other witness noted in the standard critical editions, which might suggest that other MAs were the result of secondary harmonization that left no trace in the textual witnesses. This offers some modest support to the view that the MAs are not hints of Matthean influence on Luke at the compositional level, as the Farrer Hypothesis claims. However, in his 2017 article assessing new developments in the study of Marcion's Gospel, BeDuhn now allows that some of the MAs could have resulted from "secondary redactional dependence of Luke on Matthew" as well as from the "accretion of scribal harmonizations"⁵⁹. Given what we know about accidental publication and multiple versions of written texts in antiquity, and given what we do not know about the circulation of the gospels in the second century, it seems somewhat problematic to distinguish too sharply between "redactional dependence" as a compositional phenomenon (i.e., the work of an "author") and "scribal harmonizations" as a phenomenon of manuscript transmission (the interventions of "copyists"). Regardless, BeDuhn also needs to allow for the use of Matthew by the author-redactor of Canonical Luke in order to explain the mysterious re-appearance in CLk of Q material (and Markan material?) missing from Marcion's Gospel.

3. *Missing Double Tradition Material: Dependence on Matthew?*

Before turning to Q, it is worthwhile clarifying how theories that position MLk as an earlier edition of Luke explain missing Sondergut and Markan material which appears in the later Canonical Luke. The missing Sondergut can be generally understood as secondary additions or omissions, depending to what extent Marcionite editing of the text is allowed.

57. KLINGHARDT, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 1), p. 1119.

58. See also the brief discussion in D.A. SMITH, *Marcion's Gospel and the Resurrected Jesus of Canonical Luke 24*, in ZAC 21 (2017) 41-62, p. 47.

59. BEDUHN, *New Studies* (n. 20), p. 16.

BeDuhn and Klinghardt both argue that all the missing Sondergut was added in the canonical redaction of Luke. Tyson would disagree. For example, he argued that the Lukan genealogy was deleted by Marcion; the tension between Luke 3,23-38 and Luke 1-2 shows that the Infancy Narratives were secondary additions, but the genealogy was original to Proto-Luke⁶⁰. The Markan material missing from MLk but present in CLk also poses a challenge for BeDuhn and Klinghardt, but it is not so easily answered. The following Markan passages are attested as absent from MLk: the Baptism of Jesus (Mark 1,9-11 par. Luke 3,21-22); the Third Passion Prediction (Mark 10,32-34 par. Luke 18,31-34); the Entry into Jerusalem and the Temple Incident (Mark 11,1-10.15-17 par. Luke 19,28-40.45-46); and the Parable of the Tenants (Mark 12,1-11 par. Luke 20,9-18)⁶¹. BeDuhn also thinks "it is likely" that the episode with Jairus' daughter (Mark 5,21-23.35-43 par. Luke 8,40-42a.49-56), unattested for MLk, "was not found in the Evangelion", but Klinghardt disagrees, reconstructing it as "unbezeugt aber wahrscheinlich vorhanden"⁶². Strangely, the enclosed story of the woman with the flow of blood (Mark 5,24-34 par. Luke 8,42b-48) is well attested for MLk. In any case, the question is how the Markan material missing from MLk came to be in CLk, if none of it was deleted by Marcion.

For Klinghardt, these passages originate as Markan additions to MLk, which then were taken up by Matthew and then by the redactor of CLk. To take one example: Klinghardt argues that the Third Passion Prediction (Mark 10,32-34 par. Luke 18,31-34) is part of Mark's redactional plan to develop the journey to Jerusalem as a central section of the gospel (Mark 8,22-10,52). Most of the raw materials for this were already found in MLk and were taken up by the author of Mark, who also omitted a great deal of the material in MLk 10-19. According to Klinghardt, Mark's author then added the Third Passion Prediction (Mark 10,32-34), references to Jesus and the disciples being "on the way" to Jerusalem (8,27;

60. TYSON, *Marcion and Luke-Acts* (n. 7), pp. 89, 91.

61. For precise details, see ROTH, *Marcion's Gospel* (n. 1), pp. 412-436 (his overall reconstruction of MLk); SMITH, *Marcion's Gospel and the Synoptics* (n. 5), Appendix 4. Some of the passages attested as absent involve different types of material: Luke 18,34 (LkS) is unattested for MLk and probably was absent together with Luke 18,31-33 (Markan); the whole of Luke 19,29-46 is attested as absent from MLk, with v. 28 unattested and probably absent, including vv. 28-38.45-46 (Markan) and vv. 39-44 (Lukan Sondergut).

62. BEDUHN, *First New Testament* (n. 1), p. 147; cf. ROTH, *Marcion's Gospel* (n. 1), p. 418 (MLk 8,33-42a.49-56 unattested); KLINGHARDT, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 1), pp. 624-625 (unattested but probably present in MLk). In his discussion, Klinghardt bases this on two suppositions (*ibid.*, pp. 628-629). First, the story is found in Western witnesses, and Klinghardt claims that these witnesses to CLk often contain uncorrected readings that correspond to MLk; secondly, the numerous Minor Agreements throughout the passage indicate here (for they indicate other things for Klinghardt elsewhere) that Matthew and Luke depended on a different version of the story than Mark, namely the one found in Marcion's Gospel.

9,33-34; 10,17.46.52), and a second healing of a blind man (8,22-26), which, positioned first, created the inclusio with the Bartimaeus story already found in MLk (Mark 10,45-52; Luke 18,35-43)⁶³. The first two of these redactional additions were taken up in Matthew, but not the third; the redactor of Canonical Luke followed Matthew in taking over this Markan material, then also created the compositionally more highly-structured Travel Narrative (CLk 9,51–19,28) with the addition of new Sondergut (CLk 9,31b.51; 13,22.31-33; 19,41-44; etc.)⁶⁴.

BeDuhn's discussions of the Markan passages absent from MLk do not address the problem of how they came to be in CLk. However, since he thinks that Marcion "adopted [PLk] relatively untouched", one must infer that he believes these passages were not originally in the earlier edition of Luke⁶⁵. This means that these passages must have come into Canonical Luke at a secondary redactional stage, either directly from Mark or indirectly from Matthew, though BeDuhn does not discuss either possibility. One guesses that he would suppose this material is from Matthew, for if, in BeDuhn's view, some of the MAs (and also, as will be seen below, some of the Double Tradition material) are found in CLk because of the "secondary redactional dependence of Luke on Matthew", this could also be his explanation for why this Markan material missing from MLk is found in the final canonical form of Luke⁶⁶. For example, the sequence Entry into Jerusalem plus the Temple Incident (Luke 19,29-46) attested absent from MLk (v. 28 is unattested), must represent on this view Markan material added from Matthew (vv. 28-38, 45-46) together with Sondergut (vv. 39-44).

The Double Tradition material missing from MLk, but present in CLk, includes the following: the Preaching of John (Luke 3,7-9.16-17); the Temptation (4,1-13); most of the Sign of Jonah saying (11,30-32); the Judgment on "This Generation" (11,49-51); the Five Sparrows saying (12,6); the latter parts of the Excluded from Entry sayings cluster (13,29-30); and the Lament over Jerusalem (13,34-35)⁶⁷. This amounts to twenty-nine verses, or just under thirteen percent of the total. The rest of the Double Tradition material usually assigned to Q is either attested as present (128 verses, 55.4%) or unattested (74 verses, 32%) for MLk. For Tyson, the Q material absent from MLk – like the other missing Synoptic material in Luke 3–23 – was excised by Marcion⁶⁸. For Klinghardt, as noted above, this missing "Q" material originates with Matthew: the author of Matthew added it as part of his reworking of Mark and MLk,

63. KLINGHARDT, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 1), pp. 199-203.

64. *Ibid.*, pp. 197-199.

65. BEDUHN, *New Studies* (n. 20), p. 20.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

67. See ROTH, *Marcion's Gospel* (n. 1), pp. 412-436 (his overall reconstruction of MLk); SMITH, *Marcion's Gospel and the Synoptics* (n. 5), Appendix 3.

68. TYSON, *Marcion and Luke-Acts* (n. 7), p. 117.

and from there it made its way into Canonical Luke. BeDuhn offers the same explanation, that is, secondary dependence of CLk on Matthew, but does not discuss the Q material missing from the body of MLk (Q 11,30-32; 11,49-51; 12,6; 13,29-30; 13,34-35), only that missing from the introductory chapters (3,7-9.16b-17; 4,1-13)⁶⁹.

BeDuhn suggests that secondary dependence on Matthew in the opening chapters of Canonical Luke answers three difficult problems about the beginning of Q. First, the high level of verbatim agreement between Matthew and Luke in these two sections is better explained, in his view, by the theory that here the redactor of CLk was copying from Matthew, than by the theory that the two authors independently used Q. "Such precise duplication of wording is actually quite unusual in the Q material"⁷⁰. A closer look, however, shows that this is false. As John Kloppenborg has observed, the "very high degree of verbatim agreement" in many Double Tradition pericopae is "one of the data sets" on which the Q Hypothesis is based; he gives seven examples (of which six are two or more verses long) where the percentage of verbatim agreement ranges from 85% to 98%⁷¹. Furthermore, in the Temptation story, Matthew and Luke show only 51% verbatim agreement (85% in the words of Jesus, compared with 45% in the rest of the pericope)⁷². In the Q material attested as absent from MLk, which on BeDuhn's view should show a generally high level of verbatim agreement if Luke used Matthew directly, percentages range from 36% (Q 11,49-51) to 95% (Q 11,31-32)⁷³. Furthermore, variation in verbal agreement does not necessarily correlate to different (types of) sources: Kloppenborg argues that "a more proximate explanation of such variability is found in the widespread practice of rhetorical paraphrase of sources, or the practice of authors revising their own works following private oral performances ... which assisted them in crafting more persuasive or felicitous formulations"⁷⁴.

Secondly, BeDuhn finds it odd that Matthew and Luke agree so closely in how they position the Baptist material from Q in relation to its Markan counterpart. This suggests to him that the redactor of Canonical Luke added the material from Matthew, in its Matthean location; otherwise, "one is ... forced to assume that the sequence Baptist/Jesus/Temptation

69. BEDUHN, *First New Testament* (n. 1), p. 95.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

71. J.S. KLOPPENBORG, *Variation in the Reproduction of the Double Tradition and an Oral Q?*, in *ETL* 83 (2007) 53-80, p. 53; see also J.S. KLOPPENBORG, *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel*, Edinburgh, T&T Clark, 2000, p. 63.

72. Percentages mentioned in this paragraph are based on the statistics in R. MORGEN-THALER, *Statistische Synopse*, Zürich – Stuttgart, Gotthelf, 1971, pp. 70-84, corrected where necessary.

73. The details are as follows: Q 3,7-9, 83%; Q 3,17, 88%; Q 4,2-13, 51%; Q 11,30-32, 82% (v. 30, 44%; vv. 31-32, 95%); Q 11,49-51, 36%; Q 12,6-7, 70%; Q 13,29, 50%; Q 13,34-35, 85%.

74. KLOPPENBORG, *Variation* (n. 71), pp. 79-80.

was so well established in the oral tradition that it was duplicated in Mark and Q"⁷⁵. In fact, this is not so difficult to imagine. However, assuming that the Baptist material and the Temptation story did derive from Q, there is a significant overlap with the Markan presentation, so that – assuming that Matthew and Luke were independent of each other – this is the logical place for this material to be situated (Mark 1,2-6 corresponds with Q 3,7b-9; Mark 1,7-8, with Q 3,16b-17; Mark 1,12-13a, with Q 4,3-13)⁷⁶. Nowhere else do Matthew and Luke agree in situating the same Double Tradition material in the same Markan context, so BeDuhn was correct to draw attention to this.

Thirdly, BeDuhn thinks the narrative material here, that is, the Baptism and Temptation stories, is anomalous to Q as a "sayings collection"⁷⁷. To make this claim, BeDuhn must describe Q as a "hybrid text" that has no ancient analogue⁷⁸. Again, Kloppenborg has dealt with this at length in his study of ancient sayings collections: he found that it was not uncommon for legitimizing narratives to be added to sayings collections, especially "in the cases of lesser-known sages (e.g., Ankhsheshonq) or sages whose legitimacy might be subject to challenge"⁷⁹. Interestingly, the assumption of generic purity in sayings collections goes back as far as Schleiermacher's essay on Papias (Eusebius, *Hist.* 3.39.16), and was the reason early proponents of the 2DH such as C.H. Weisse and H.J. Holtzmann proposed an Urmarcus to take in the narrative material found in the Double Tradition⁸⁰. BeDuhn also sees the Temptation as "atypical of Q" in its vocabulary and in its quotation of Scripture as authoritative⁸¹. While some Q scholars would assign this passage to the last redactional stage of Q's composition, the interest in Scripture is not really "atypical". BeDuhn notes that Scripture is quoted in a few places elsewhere in Q (Q 7,27; 10,15; 13,27.35), but does not mention the many allusions to biblical language and characters throughout Q (Q 3,8; 6,23; 7,22; 11,30-32.51; 16,16-17; 17,26-30)⁸².

75. BEDUHN, *First New Testament* (n. 1), p. 94.

76. KLOPPENBORG, *Excavating Q* (n. 71), pp. 32-33.

77. The International Q Project rated the Baptism as in Q at a {C} level of certainty, with one general editor holding it was not in Q {D}. See J.M. ROBINSON – P. HOFFMANN – J.S. KLOPPENBORG (eds.), *The Critical Edition of Q* (Hermeneia Supplements), Minneapolis, MN, Fortress; Leuven, Peeters, 2000, pp. 18-21.

78. BEDUHN, *First New Testament* (n. 1), p. 95.

79. KLOPPENBORG, *Excavating Q* (n. 71), p. 202; for literature, see also J.S. KLOPPENBORG, *The Formation of Q: Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections* (SAC), Philadelphia, PA, Fortress, 1987, pp. 256-261.

80. F. SCHLEIERMACHER, *Über die Zeugnisse des Papias von unsern beiden ersten Evangelien*, in TSK 5 (1832) 735-768; on the "wholly undefended notion of generic purity" in Schleiermacher, Weisse, and Holtzmann, see KLOPPENBORG, *Excavating Q* (n. 71), pp. 302-303.

81. BEDUHN, *First New Testament* (n. 1), p. 95.

82. *Ibid.* BeDuhn also notes Luke 19,33, but this verse has a parallel at Mark 11,5 and so cannot be from Q (this must be a typo). Admittedly, some of the passages mentioned as

Three of the Q passages attested as absent are worth closer consideration: the Sign of Jonah (Q 11,16,29-32, of which vv. 29b-32 are attested as absent); Judgment on This Generation (Q 11,49-51); and the Lament over Jerusalem (Q 13,34-35, where Luke 13,29-35 are attested as absent). The Sign of Jonah in Marcion's Gospel was evidently more like the refusal of a sign in Mark 8,11-12: ... ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη ... σημεῖον οὐ δοθήσεται αὐτῇ ... (MLk 11,29)⁸³. Klinghardt is more interested in a text-critical problem than in why and how the redactor of Canonical Luke has excerpted the Jonah material from Matthew: if the Western witnesses to CLk normally (on his view) attest the wording of MLk, why are these verses, which Epiphanius attests as absent from MLk, present in Codex Bezae and the Old Latin versions? His typical answer to this problem, that these witnesses were often corrected (i.e., corrupted) by the influence of either Matthew or Canonical Luke, finds some support in the harmonizing variant καὶ καθὼς Ἰωνᾶς ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ τοῦ κήτους κτλ in v. 30⁸⁴. One would have to assume, however, that he thinks the redactor of Luke retrieved it from Matthew 12. BeDuhn, meanwhile, is reluctant to assign CLk 11,29b-32 to Matthean influence. "While it may be tempting to assume that this material derives from Matt 12,39-42, it is more developed there than in Luke in explicitly connecting the experience of Jonah to Jesus' death and resurrection"⁸⁵. BeDuhn does not tell the reader how he thinks the theologically less-developed version of the saying found its way into Canonical Luke.

The latter two passages (Luke 11,49-51; 13,34-35) are found together in Matt 23,34-39, so both Klinghardt and BeDuhn would have to explain why the redactor of Canonical Luke separated them and used them in two different places. BeDuhn does not offer any explanation beyond noting the Matthean parallels to these two sayings (perhaps implying their source)⁸⁶. Klinghardt explains that CLk 11,49-51 provide a second justification for the fifth woe (MLk = CLk 11,47; cf. v. 48); but he thinks that in adding this material here, the redactor of CLk introduces an odd tension, because vv. 49-51 contemporize the deuteronomistic accusation of prophet-murder without a clear reason (cf. Matt 23,30)⁸⁷. Assuming the integrity of the Q

alluding or referring to Scripture are attested as absent from MLk, namely: Q 3,8; 11,30-32, 51; 13,35. For a full study of Scripture in Q, see D.C. ALLISON, Jr., *The Intertextual Jesus: Scripture in Q*, Harrisburg, PA, Trinity Press International, 2000.

83. Reconstruction from ROTH, *Marcion's Gospel* (n. 1), p. 422.

84. KLINGHARDT, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 1), pp. 750-751 (D a e ff² r¹). These same witnesses omit v. 32. Klinghardt often adopts the same expedient – Western witnesses corrected (corrupted) under the influence of Matthew or Canonical Luke – when material attested absent or presumed absent has support in the Western witnesses (e.g. Luke 7,31-35, *ibid.*, p. 586; Luke 11,29b-32, *ibid.*, p. 751; Luke 11,49-51, *ibid.*, p. 768). It is difficult not to see this as special pleading.

85. BEDUHN, *First New Testament* (n. 1), p. 161.

86. *Ibid.*, pp. 162, 170.

87. KLINGHARDT, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 1), p. 769.

material on "this generation", it makes sense that this Woe progresses from an accusation of assent to the acts of their forebears (v. 48), to one of sharing in their deeds (vv. 49-51). Other Q material clearly situates the polemic against "this generation" with the rejection of John and Jesus (Q 7,31-35, unattested in MLk), although it remains something of a puzzle why the Q logion sees Zechariah (v. 51; 2 Chr 24,20-22) as the end of this murderous pattern⁸⁸.

The Jerusalem Lament, on the theory of secondary Matthean influence on the canonical redaction of Luke, was separated from its Matthean prequel and placed two chapters or so later in the framework already supplied by Marcion's Gospel. Yet the patterns of attestation for Marcion's Gospel in Luke 13, especially the fact that Luke 13,29-35 are attested as absent, present a challenge for this view⁸⁹.

<i>Passage</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Attestation in MLk</i>
CLk 13,1-9	Parable of the Fig Tree (LkS)	vv. 1-9 (A)
CLk 13,10-17	Healing in Synagogue (LkS)	vv. 14-16 (P), vv. 10-13,17 (U)
CLk 13,18-21	Mustard Seed; Leaven (Q)	vv. 19-21 (P), v. 18 (U)
CLk 13,22-23	The Way to Jerusalem (LkS)	vv. 22-23 (U)
CLk 13,24-27	Narrow Door Shut (Q)	vv. 25-27 (P), v. 24 (U)
CLk 13,28-29	Exclusion from Kingdom (Q)	v. 28 (P), v. 29 (A)
CLk 13,30	Last First, First Last (Q)	v. 30 (A)
CLk 13,31-33	Warning about Herod (LkS)	vv. 31-33 (A)
CLk 13,34-35	Jerusalem Lament (Q)	vv. 34-35 (A)

Klinghardt believes that CLk 13,1-9, parts of 13,10-17, and 13,22-23,31-33 are redactional and were added in keeping with Lukan theological interests (especially Jerusalem)⁹⁰. BeDuhn's comments on the missing Sondergut are limited mainly to delineating the sources attesting to its absence. The absent Double Tradition material poses the real problem. On the view that the Double Tradition material absent from MLk was added in a secondary redaction from Matthew, the redactor of Canonical Luke would have had to draw material from three different parts of Matthew: CLk 13,29 is from Matt 8,11a; CLk 13,30, from Matt 20,16 (although admittedly this seems like a well-known, free-floating saying); and CLk 13,34-35, from Matt 23,37-39.

88. See the discussion in C.M. TUCKETT, *Q and the History of Early Christianity: Studies on Q*, Edinburgh, T&T Clark, 1996, pp. 310-314.

89. In the following table, (A) signifies attested absent, (P) attested present, and (U) unattested, as given in ROTH, *Marcion's Gospel* (n. 1), pp. 424-425.

90. KLINGHARDT, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 1), pp. 810-812, 818-820, 825-826; he describes Luke 13,10-17 as "teilweise gut für Mcn bezeugt, möglicherweise durch die lk Redaktion ergänzt" (*ibid.*, p. 813).

Recently, BeDuhn has criticized Klinghardt's description of the redaction of the canonical gospels as "Schreibtischarbeit", that is, a painstaking compositional process involving the close comparison of source texts, which BeDuhn believes is "strangely decontextualized" from the communal use of texts in early Christianity⁹¹. The theory of secondary redactional influence of Matthew as an explanation for the presence in Canonical Luke of Q material missing from Marcion's Gospel, however, seems to require exactly this kind of work. Luke 13,28-29 (Q 13,29-28) is a case in point. The redactor of Luke would have found the first verse in Marcion's Gospel (MLk 13,28), but then would need to retrieve the second verse from Matthew's story of the encounter with the centurion (Matt 8,11a, from Matt 8,5-13). This passage (Q 7,1.3.6b-9.?10?) is unattested for Marcion's Gospel except for v. 9. Both Klinghardt and BeDuhn think the story was present in MLk, although its exact wording and shape cannot be determined⁹². In this case, the canonical redactor would need to remember that the Matthean version of the story had a short prequel saying to MLk 13,28 (Matt 8,11a par. Luke 13,29 preceded Matt 8,11b-12 par. Luke 13,28), and added it as a sequel. (Matthew's author, according to Klinghardt, would have transposed this saying from its original location here, back to the centurion story, and composed the prequel himself⁹³.) The Lukan redactor then would need to add v. 30 as a conclusion, something easily done from memory: "And behold, there are those who are last who will be first, and those who are first who will be last". The author/redactor would then have composed a chreia about Herod and the journey to Jerusalem (CLk 13,31-33) as the introduction to the Lament (13,34-35), which itself was retrieved from Matt 23,37-39, the location of the earlier-used pronouncement against "this generation" (Matt 23,34-36 par. CLk 11,49-51). According to Klinghardt, the main effects would be the creation of a significant piece in the Lukan presentation of Jesus' journey to Jerusalem (CLk 13,22.31-33.34-35), something not emphasized in Marcion's Gospel, but also the clarification of the identity of the "first" and the "last" in relation to those in the end included or excluded from the Kingdom⁹⁴.

All this is not impossible, of course. As Alan Kirk has recently argued concerning the composition of Matthew, ancient authors working with sources to which they were ideologically committed could use them from memory (consulting a physical copy when necessary), when integrating them into a new composition⁹⁵. This ideological commitment is formed in

91. BEDUHN, *New Studies* (n. 20), p. 19; KLINGHARDT, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 1), pp. 362-363.

92. BEDUHN, *First New Testament* (n. 1), pp. 141-12; KLINGHARDT, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 1), pp. 560-569.

93. KLINGHARDT, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 1), pp. 822-823.

94. *Ibid.*, pp. 827-828.

95. A. KIRK, *Q in Matthew: Ancient Media, Memory, and Early Scribal Transmission of the Jesus Tradition* (LNTS, 564), London, Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2016.

the context of communal usage. A simpler solution, however, arises when one considers the fact that sometimes the material attested absent comprises more than one type of material (e.g. Double Tradition and Sondergut in Luke 13,29-35): this makes more sense as the result of editorial deletion than the result of a complicated process of comparison and extraction from Matthew and the composition of new material.

4. *Conclusion: A Modest Proposal*

On the traditional view that Marcion's Gospel was entirely the product of his own editorial work, it is difficult to explain why, given Marcion's own theological emphases and interests, some material would have been deleted while other material was left. As discussed above, BeDuhn concludes that the lack of a consistently applied editorial agenda means that Marcion did not edit the gospel he used at all. While it is possible – though not unproblematic – to assign all the missing Sondergut to the editorial hand of the redactor of Canonical Luke, problems arise on BeDuhn's theory with the absent sections of Markan and Double Tradition material. Judith Lieu points out that while

there are good reasons to question whether the "Gospel" that Marcion promoted was simply a heavily edited version of the Luke familiar to Tertullian and Epiphanius, ... that does not mean he simply reproduced a text available to him. However the activities of the now-canonical Gospel authors, redaction and "correction" were widespread textual strategies in the second century, and there is no good reason for excluding Marcion from their exercise⁹⁶.

It seems better to suggest (as Joseph Tyson did) that Marcion did edit the gospel he received and used, but without a clear and consistent plan. In my opinion, the missing Markan and Q material was more probably edited out by Marcion (or by MLk's subsequent copyists prior to Tertullian) than added in by the redactor of CLk under the secondary influence of Matthew and/or Mark, but it is difficult to know exactly how to test this. Lieu thinks that arguments about Lukan style or language "have failed singularly to determine whether absent passages ... bear sufficient distinctive Lukan hallmarks not merely to be attributable to a final editorial polish"⁹⁷. Likewise, it can be difficult to argue on the basis of presumed theological tendencies why some things but not others are missing from MLk. It should be clear, at least, that levels of verbatim agreement cannot be taken as evidence for deciding the sources of material absent from MLk but present in CLk.

96. LIEU, *Marcion* (n. 1), p. 203.

97. *Ibid.*, pp. 202-203.

Faced with uncertainty at many points about the precise wording and contents of MLk, but also about the extent to which this gospel was subject to editing or development as it circulated, it might seem risky to venture even a modest proposal concerning the place of Marcion's Gospel in the Synoptic Problem. However, there are three factors – all of which are fairly tentative – that can guide the framing of such a proposal. First, as John Knox noted years ago, the majority of material attested as absent from MLk is Sondergut: by my calculations, 59% of the missing verses are Sondergut if Luke 1,1–4,13 are excluded, and 77% if they are included⁹⁸. The skewed numbers suggest that at least some (though one could not say all) of the missing Sondergut was added in a final redaction of Luke, since the traditional alternative – that the material Marcion deleted was overwhelmingly unique to Luke – seems unlikely. This suggests that MLk is an earlier edition of Luke than the canonical version. Second, the fact that absent sections sometimes comprise two different types of material is also relevant. For example, the section CLk 19,29-46, which includes both Triple Tradition and Sondergut material, is attested as missing from MLk. The implication is that sections such as this one must have been deleted by an editor rather than added by a redactor, since the same explanation must explain the absence from MLk of both the Markan material and the Sondergut. This makes it unlikely that the Sondergut in such absent passages was secondary and part of the canonical redaction of Luke, for on such a view, the Markan material would need to be added redactionally as well. This in turn implies that Marcion (or an unknown editor) must have had a hand in shaping MLk. The third point is related: if the missing material involves too complicated an editorial scenario to explain its later addition to CLk, then it likewise is more probably absent from MLk as a result of editing by Marcion or his successors who used and revised the gospel. This is illustrated above in relation to CLk 13,29-35, attested as absent from MLk. A consequence could be that all Markan and Q material missing from MLk would be missing by editorial deletion. This, admittedly, seems a bit artificial. However, with Mark but also especially with Q, we are then not in a situation of proposing secondary dependence on Matthew to explain the appearance of this material in Canonical Luke, which seems to me to give away the foundation of the Q Hypothesis as currently formulated and to introduce more problems than it solves. If secondary dependence can explain some of the Double Tradition passages (or minor agreements) in Canonical Luke, why not all of them? How could we distinguish what was originally in Q from what was latterly added from Matthew? Klinghardt's alternative, to place MLk at the origin of the gospels, solves some of these problems but

98. KNOX, *Marcion and the New Testament* (n. 15), pp. 107-108; see above, p. 482 and n. 5. See also SMITH, *Marcion's Gospel and the Synoptics* (n. 5), Appendix 6.

suffers from the unlikely supposition of Markan dependence on Marcion's Gospel.

These three factors are, I would emphasize, tentative inferences based on the textual data brought to light by the latest reconstructions of Marcion's Gospel. They incline me to a view quite similar to that of Tyson. On this view, pre-Marcionite version of Luke, which combined Mark and Q together with some material unique to Luke, came to be used and edited by Marcion, with Marcion's Gospel as the result; a separate revision of this Proto-Luke resulted in Canonical Luke. Given what we know about accidental publication and multiple versions of ancient texts, it is not impossible that the author of the pre-Marcionite Luke was also the redactor of Canonical Luke. Even Tertullian, after all, admitted that earlier editions of his *Against Marcion* had begun to circulate without his consent, and he wrote the version that now survives to supersede the two already in circulation (*Marc.* 1.1-2)⁹⁹. Advocating Tyson's approach does not require, however, following him in the view that the redaction that produced Canonical Luke (and Acts) was intended to refute Marcion's teachings; CLk may have predated Marcion and therefore addressed concerns more broadly current in the early second century. In the end, there are more open questions than certain answers, even if it can be safely concluded that Marcion's Gospel deserves a place in the Synoptic Problem.

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ABSTRACT. — Recent studies proposing that Marcion's Gospel represents, or provides access to, an edition of Luke earlier than its canonical form have obvious implications for Synoptic Problem scholarship. This article examines the place of the Double Tradition material (i.e., Q material) in the work of Joseph Tyson, Jason BeDuhn, and Matthias Klinghardt, with detailed analyses of the so-called Minor Agreements and the problematic attestation of Double Tradition material in Marcion's Gospel. Finally, a moderate suggestion concerning the place of Marcion's Gospel in the web of Synoptic relationships will be tentatively proposed.

99. LARSEN, *Accidental Publication* (n. 3), p. 375.